

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MPOL, MARR, NATO, SP
SUBJECT: SPAIN AND NATO - SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTER
BREAKS NEW GROUND

REF: 77 MADRID 5282 (DTG 121623Z JUL77)

1. SUMMARY: FOREIGN MINISTER OREJA USED THE OPPORTUNITY OF A MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENT TO THE SPANISH SENATE ON MARCH 9 (SEPTEL) TO MAKE THIS GOVERNMENT'S FIRST DETAILED POLICY STATEMENT ON THE ISSUE OF POSSIBLE SPANISH ENTRY INTO NATO. (EARLIER STATEMENTS HAD BEEN SHORT AND RESTRICTED ESSENTIALLY TO UNDERLINING SPAIN'S EUROPEAN VOCATION, THE IMPORTANCE OF INTERDEPENDENCE IN THE SECURITY FIELD, AND THE NEED FOR FULL PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE AND A SUBSTANTIAL PUBLIC CONSENSUS PRELIMINARY TO MEMBERSHIP. AT THE SAME TIME THESE BRIEF STATEMENTS HAD LEFT NO DOUBT THAT THE GOS LEADERSHIP ITSELF FAVORS ALLIANCE MEMBERSHIP, ALTHOUGH THE ISSUE IS FAR FROM BEING JOINED IN SPAIN.)

2. THE

MARCH 9 STATEMENT, WHICH BECAUSE OF ITS IMPORTANCE IS REPRODUCED BELOW IN FULL, REJECTS NEUTRALITY AND, VIA THE DEVICE OF LISTING PROS AND CONS, OFFERS A CASE FOR ALLIANCE MEMBERSHIP. OREJA ARGUES THAT MEMBERSHIP WOULD ONLY FORMALIZE SPAIN'S ALIGNMENT, NOT CHANGE IT AND THAT NEUTRALITY WOULD BE DESTABILIZING. AT THE SAME TIME, HE MAKES A CLEAR DISTINCTION BETWEEN MEMBERSHIP IN THE ALLIANCE AND PARTICIPATION IN THE INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE.

3. THIS STATEMENT WAS COINCIDENT BUT OF COURSE
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ABSOLUTELY UNCONNECTED WITH THE CONFIDENTIAL BILATERAL HIGH-LEVEL SEMINAR ON NATO HELD IN MADRID MARCH 9 AND 10. REFERRING AT THE SEMINAR TO OREJA'S STATEMENT, THE FOREIGN MINISTRY'S DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR NORTH AMERICAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS, JUAN DURAN, TERMED IT AN IMPORTANT STEP IN THE DEVELOPING NATIONAL DEBATE ON NATO. HE ALSO POINTED OUT IN A SEPARATE CONTEXT THAT IT IS NOT THE GOS INTENTION TO LAUNCH ANY PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON THE NATO MEMBERSHIP QUESTION BEFORE THE COMPLETION OF THE SPANISH CONSTITUTION (STILL SOME MONTHS AWAY), AT THE VERY EARLIEST. (WE DEEM IT UNLIKELY THE GOS WILL WISH TO DO SO BEFORE NEXT YEAR.) PRIVATELY DURAN UNDERLINED THIS POINT, EXPLAINING THAT A DECISION TO MAKE A SOMEWHAT DETAILED STATEMENT AT THIS TIME WAS BASED ON THE FEELING THAT THE OMISSION OF THE TOPIC FROM AN IMPORTANT FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENT WOULD BE A GREATER ERROR. WE ASSUME HE HAD IN MIND, AMONG OTHER THINGS, THE CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF MISINFORMATION WHICH HAS APPEARED RECENTLY ON THE NATO ISSUE FROM SOCIALIST (PSOE) SPOKESMEN, MUCH OF IT IN THE CONTEXT OF DEVELOPING CONCERN ABOUT THE CANARIES. NOR CAN IT BE RULED OUT THAT THIS MESSAGE ON NATO IS IN PART DIRECTED TO AFRICAN CAPITALS. END SUMMARY.

4. (BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED)

BEGIN TEXT (INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION): THE APPROPRIATE-
NESS OF A NATIONAL DEBATE ON THE POSSIBLE INCLUSION OF
SPAIN IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY:

ALTHOUGH THE DEBATE HAS SCARCELY BEGUN, I DO WANT TO TAKE
ADVANTAGE OF THIS OCCASION TO EXPLAIN, IF ONLY IN OUTLINE
FORM, WHAT, ON THE ONE HAND, WE UNDERSTAND BY NEUTRALISM
AND ITS CONSEQUENCES, AND WHAT ON THE OTHER HAND IS
ENTAILED FROM OUR PERSPECTIVE IN MEMBERSHIP IN THE ALLIANCE,
AND ITS PROS AND CONS.

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A) NEUTRALISM:

AT PRESENT, NEUTRALITY EITHER HAS AN HISTORICAL JUSTIFICATION -- SWITZERLAND -- OR DERIVES FROM A CERTAIN GEO-STRATEGIC SITUATION WHICH MAKES IT THE PATH OF SURVIVAL. THIS LATTER SITUATION, WHICH ENCOMPASSES THE GREAT MAJORITY OF CASES OF NEUTRALITY WHICH ARE FOUND TODAY ON THE CONTINENT, IS THAT OF THE FRONTIER STATES BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. NEITHER FINLAND NOR SWEDEN COULD GUARANTEE THEIR INDEPENDENCE TODAY EXCEPT IN THE CONTEXT OF NEUTRALITY. IN THE CASE OF AUSTRIA, THE STATE TREATY WHICH GAVE BIRTH TO POST-WAR AUSTRIA PROVIDES A CONSTITUTIONAL BASIS FOR NEUTRALITY.

SPAIN IS NOT IN ANY OF THESE SITUATIONS. FURTHER, SPAIN AT THIS TIME HAS OBLIGATIONS CONTRACTED WITH THE OVERALL SYSTEM OF WESTERN DEFENSE, AND MOVING TO A NEUTRALIST POSITION WOULD INVOLVE A VERY PROFOUND MODIFICATION OF THE CURRENT EUROPEAN BALANCE.

THIS AFFIRMATION DOES NOT PREJUDGE THE FUTURE FORMS WHICH SPANISH INCLUSION IN WESTERN DEFENSE COULD TAKE. BUT IT IS NECESSARY TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THAT THIS INCLUSION IS ALREADY A FACT, AND THAT WITHDRAWAL BY SPAIN FROM THIS SYSTEM COULD BE A SERIOUS DESTABILIZING FACTOR THROUGHOUT THE CONTINENT, ALTHOUGH IT WOULD BE JUSTIFIED IF SPANISH INTERESTS WERE THEREBY BETTER DEFENDED.

DISARMED NEUTRALITY, IN THE SPANISH GEOSTRATEGIC SITUATION, IS NO MORE THAN A DANGEROUS UTOPIA. ARMED NEUTRALITY CERTAINLY REPRESENTS A PLEASANT IDEA. BUT IT IS USEFUL TO ANALYZE CAREFULLY AND COMPARATIVELY THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COSTS OF SUCH AN ARMED NEUTRALITY. IN CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES ONLY THE GREAT POWERS CAN PERMIT THEMSELVES DEFENSIVE SELF-SUFFICIENCY.

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THOSE WHO, WITHOUT BEING GREAT POWERS, HAVE OPTED FOR ARMED NEUTRALITY PAY THE PRICE AT A LEVEL ABSOLUTELY

UNTHINKABLE FOR OUR COUNTRY, AND WITH RESULTS MORE APPARENT THAN REAL.

B) SPAIN AND THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE:

WHEN YOU DISCUSS THE SUBJECT IN DEPTH IT WILL BE NECESSARY, IN THE FIRST PLACE, TO DEFINE CONCEPTS. THUS, FOR EXAMPLE, ONE SPEAKS INDISCRIMINATELY OF NATO, THE ATLANTIC PACT, AND THE INTEGRATED MILITARY ORGANIZATION.

LET US MAKE CLEAR FIRST OF ALL THAT THE TERM "NATO" IS NOT INCLUDED IN THE TREATY. IT CAME ABOUT THROUGH USE. WE MUST DISTINGUISH BETWEEN ACCESSION TO THE TREATY AND PARTICIPATION IN THE INTEGRATED MILITARY ORGANIZATION, FOR WHICH THERE ARE VARIOUS MODALITIES.

ICELAND, FOR EXAMPLE, HAS NO ARMED FORCES AND FORMS PART OF THE INTEGRATED SYSTEM. LUXEMBOURG DOES SO WITH A TOTAL OF 620 MEN. THE TERRITORIES OF THE U.S., CANADA, AND GREAT BRITAIN ARE NOT INTEGRATED INTO ANY COMMAND. FRANCE IN 1966 MADE THE ALLIED FORCES LEAVE ITS TERRITORY, CANCELLED THE FACILITIES CEDED TO THE U.S. AND NATO, AND MADE THE ORGANISMS AND COMMANDS LOCATED IN FRANCE MOVE OUT. NORWAY AND DENMARK ARE INTEGRATED IN THE ORGANIZATION BUT NEITHER SEND MILITARY FORCES OUTSIDE THEIR TERRITORY NOR ACCEPT THE STATIONING OF NUCLEAR ARMS OR THE PERMANENT PRESENCE OF ALLIED FORCES.

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FINALLY, THE MEMBERS ARE ONLY EQUAL IN ONE THING: AS
SIGNATORIES OF THE TREATY OF WASHINGTON OR ATLANTIC PACT,
AND IN THE RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS WHICH COME FROM IT.
WE SEE SEVERAL PROS AND CONS FOR SPANISH MEMBERSHIP IN
THE ALLIANCE:

THE PROS:

- 1) IT IS PARTICIPATION IN A POLITICAL ENTITY, AND NOT
ONLY A STRATEGIC ONE, OF THE FIRST MAGNITUDE.
- 2) IT IS ACCESS, ON CONDITIONS EQUAL WITH THE REST OF
THE MEMBERS, TO THE DIPLOMATIC FORUM WHICH THE ALLIANCE
OFFERS TO SERVE THE FOREIGN POLICY OF EACH MEMBER.
- 3) IT IS ACCESS TO THE IMPORTANT POLITICAL AND
STRATEGIC INFORMATION WHICH THE ALLIANCE SUPPLIES TO ITS
MEMBERS.
- 4) OUR PARTICIPATION WOULD REINFORCE NATIONAL SECURITY.
ABOVE ALL BECAUSE WE COULD EXPRESS AND GIVE WEIGHT TO
OUR INTERESTS.
- 5) WE WOULD PARTICIPATE IN THE GREAT STRATEGIC SYSTEM
AT THE REGIONAL AND WORLD LEVELS, WITH THE CHANCE TO

EXPRESS AND GIVE WEIGHT TO OUR INTERESTS.

--6) IT WOULD BRING US IMPORTANT INCENTIVES AND OPPORTUNITIES TO IMPROVE THE NATIONAL DEFENSE IN GENERAL AND OUR ARMED FORCES IN PARTICULAR.

--7) IF SPAIN FINDS HERSELF INVOLVED IN A GREAT GENERALIZED CONFLICT IN THE ATLANTIC AREA SHE WOULD
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BETTER DEFEND HERSELF BEING A MEMBER OF THE ALLIANCE THAN REMAINING ALONE.

--8) IF SPAIN FINDS HERSELF INVOLVED IN A BILATERAL CONFLICT WITHIN THE SUPPOSITIONS FORESEEN BY THE TREATY, SHE WOULD ALWAYS BE MORE PROTECTED AND COULD COUNT ON MORE HELP BEING A MEMBER OF THE ALLIANCE.

--9) IF SPAIN FINDS HERSELF INVOLVED IN A BILATERAL CONFLICT WHICH BY ITS NATURE DOES NOT FALL WITHIN THE PROVISIONS OF THE TREATY, SHE COULD ALWAYS COUNT ON A MORE FAVORABLE DISPOSITION BY THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE IF SHE BELONGS AS WELL.

THE CONS:

--1) LIKE ANY ALLIANCE, THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE IMPOSES OBLIGATIONS AND LIMITATIONS.

--2) AN OBLIGATION OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE OTHER MEMBERS IS UNDERTAKEN. ALTHOUGH ELASTIC, THIS NATURALLY IMPOSES SACRIFICES.

--3) THE POSSIBILITY IS OPENED OF THE PRESENCE OF FOREIGN FORCES, ALTHOUGH THIS IS NOT ESSENTIAL.

--4) A SPECIFIC OBLIGATION IS UNDERTAKEN TO HELP A MEMBER WHO IS THE OBJECT OF AN ARMED ATTACK.

THE FALSE CONS:

THERE ARE SOME INCORRECT ALLEGATIONS WHICH MUST BE CLARIFIED:

--1) THERE DOES NOT HAVE TO BE A SPANISH ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION TO THE ALLIANCE, NOR IN GENERAL ANY EXPENSE WHICH IS NOT AN EXPENSE FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE.

--2) SPAIN'S JOINING THE ALLIANCE WILL NOT CONSOLIDATE
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THE SYSTEM OF BLOCS. THEY WERE BORN 30 YEARS AGO WITHOUT
NEEDING OUR HELP, AND EVERYTHING LEADS ONE TO THINK
THAT THEY HAVE THEIR OWN DYNAMIC, ONE STRONG ENOUGH TO

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CONTINUE IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE NO MATTER WHAT WE DO.

--3) SPANISH MEMBERSHIP WILL NOT CHANGE THE PRESENT STRATEGIC BALANCE. IT IS NOT DESTABILIZING. THE STRATEGIC WEIGHT WHICH THE ALLIANCE GAINS WITH SPANISH COLLABORATION WILL NOT BE GREATER THAN THAT WHICH UP TO NOW WE HAVE GIVEN WITHOUT BELONGING. AS FOR POLITICAL WEIGHT, IT IS ALREADY KNOWN ON WHICH SIDE OF THE BALANCE WE ARE AND HAVE BEEN LOCATED. IN CONCLUSION, PARTICIPATION IN THE ALLIANCE WILL CERTAINLY SIGNIFY THE FORMALIZATION OF SPAIN'S ALIGNMENT. ALIGNMENTS ARE IN THEMSELVES NEITHER GOOD NOR BAD. EVERYTHING DEPENDS UPON THE CIRCUMSTANCES, THEIR CAUSES, AND THE POLICY LINE WITHIN WHICH THEY OCCUR. WHETHER WE STAY OUT OF THE ALLIANCE, CONTINUE TACIT CO-OPERATION, OR EXPLICITLY JOIN, THERE WILL BE AN ECHO IN THIRD COUNTRIES. THE REASONS WHY SOME DO NOT WANT SPAIN TO BE A MEMBER OF THE ALLIANCE ARE OBVIOUS. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, STAYING ON THE SIDELINES COULD BE A WELL-INTENTIONED AND CONSTRUCTIVE ACT. ON THE OTHER

HAND, STAYING ON THE SIDELINES COULD BE AN ACT OF WEAKNESS AND THE OPENING TOWARD WIDER INFRINGEMENTS OF SOVEREIGNTY. AND JOINING COULD BE AN ACT OF POLITICAL FIRMNESS AND A STRENGTHENING OF OUR POSTURE THAT WOULD IMPROVE RELATIONS.

THE GOVERNMENT HAS CLEARLY INDICATED ITS PREFERENCES. IT HAS ALSO DECLARED THAT THIS IS NOT AN OPTION THAT CAN BE ADOPTED BY A SLENDER MARGIN OF VOTES, BUT ONE WHICH REQUIRES A SUBSTANTIAL CONSENSUS. A DECISION THAT SO INTIMATELY AFFECTS OUR SECURITY MUST ENJOY THE APPROVAL OF THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE. THE DECISION MUST BE

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BASED UPON REFLECTION RATHER THAN INTUITION, AND REQUIRES STUDY AND KNOWLEDGE. EVERY DAY DECLARATIONS ON THE TOPIC THAT SURPRISE AND FRIGHTEN BY THEIR REMOTENESS FROM REALITY ARE MADE AND READ. END TEXT.

5. OREJA HAD THIS TO SAY ABOUT PROGRESS UNDER THE HEADING OF "THE SPANISH CONTRIBUTION TO THE SYSTEM OF WESTERN DEFENSE THROUGH THE TREATY LINKS WITH THE U.S.":

BEGIN TEXT:

SINCE THE SIGNING OF THE TREATY OF 1976 THERE HAVE BEEN THREE SESSIONS OF THE U.S.-SPANISH COUNCIL, WHICH I HAVE PRESIDED OVER ONCE WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER AND TWICE WITH CYRUS VANCE.

SPAIN CONTRIBUTES TO THE U.S. SYSTEM OF DETERRENCE AND THROUGH IT TO STABILITY AND DETENTE IN THE WORLD. THE STORAGE OF NUCLEAR ARMS IN SPAIN HAS BEEN ELIMINATED. BY THE FIRST OF JULY 1979, THE NUCLEAR SUBMARINES ARE TO BE WITHDRAWN FROM ROTA. ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT SEVERAL U.S. RESTRICTIVE AND PROTECTIONIST MEASURES HAVE BEEN ELIMINATED AND A FISHING AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED. END TEXT. STABLER

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